The Commonweal

July 22, 1949

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The MRP Today

Pierre Dournes

On Hearing Mr. Budenz

John P. Sisk

Making the Most of Marriage

Leo J. Trese

VOLUME L 15c NUMBER 15

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Next Week—

THE COLLEGE: ASSEMBLY LINE OR COMMUNITY? In this, the first of two instalments, Willis D. Nutting of the University of Notre Dame writes of the similarity between modern education and the assembly line. "At a certain point on the assembly line the fenders are put on the Ford. Once they are there they stay put. We can forget them. At a certain point in college—the sophomore year—the student 'takes' History 21. Once he has passed the course no one need worry about that any more. The credit for it stays put. . ."

THE WORKER PRIESTS OF FRANCE. Monsignor Calvet, Rector Emeritus of the Catholic Institute of Paris, reports on the French priests who work side by side with laborers in France in order to understand them and their aspirations.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT. Francis Downing, formerly an official of the United Automobile Workers, analyzes the developments at the current UAW convention in Milwaukee.

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The
COMMONWEAL

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Beginning at Baguio?

THE United States Government continues its remarkable passivity in China and the Far Pacific. We are still going through the "premature" phase, evidently, while the State Department feels that any action over there, which might be consistent with American efforts in Europe to bolster the non-communist nations and block further Soviet aggression, would, mysteriously, be bad. America's policy of oriental negativism is certainly one of the most stupifying policies ever adopted by a responsible, independent State.

Chiang Kai-shek visited President Elpidio Quirino of the Philippines at Baguio, the Philippine mountain capital. Their statements stressed two moves for a Pacific policy: They want a union of free countries in Asia and the Pacific to take concrete measures of protection against the spread of the Soviet empire. They wish this union to meet "the imperative need of coordinated full development of Far Eastern countries in order to insure their stability and security."

The United States is the most powerful Pacific country, and it is a Far Eastern country in its governance of islands, and, much more importantly, in its assumed responsibilities and its whole political, economic, cultural system. It appears imperative that the United States should participate in the fullest manner in such a Pacific-Asian union.

What initiative is the State Department waiting for? The Government has discouraged the attempt of Premier Nehru of India (in May); it appears cold-bloodedly to be leaving the legitimate government of President Rhee in Korea to the merciless advance of the communists; it has turned its back on the Kuomintang and other non-communist forces in China. At home, too, it seems elaborately not to be paying attention to suggestions and demands of friends of the Far East, including many Senators.

The American Federation of Labor, through its Free Trade Union Committee, proposed on July 4 a constructive program and constructive attitude toward China, which ought to be listened to, as these others should be. The AFL program fits excellently the beginnings at Baguio. ". . . Our government should announce that it is its avowed policy to promote and aid permanent cooperation among the democratic forces of Asia. . . ." That is flatly true; and it is a beginning which, honestly and courageously pursued, leads directly to a full turn in the frontier area across the Pacific.

The UAW Scraps a Good Idea

WHAT labor confidently expected to have when it sat down to write new contracts with the coal, steel and automotive industries was a repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law. This was to have proved to management that labor had a mandate in the election of President Truman and that union demands would have to be met.

Now, as negotiations begin, that strategy has failed and the atmosphere is something else altogether. So far labor has not been able either to repeal Taft-Hartley in Congress or to get the relatively unrestricted labor law that the President wants. The mandate is no longer so confidently taken for granted.

Another change in the climate is the general slow-down in business. In this new atmosphere labor might be expected to be cautious and to adjust itself to cooperation with management in a common effort to improve the economy.

Once before, in a different kind of crisis a year ago, labor and management cooperated wisely to write a contract to deal with the fluctuating cost of living in an inflationary economy. This is the famous United Automobile Workers-General Motors formula that adjusts pay to the cost of living index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In this contract there are actually two "escalator" provisions: one scales pay up or down according to the Bureau index, the other grants an an-

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nual award to workers for increased productivity. As things have worked out, cost of living increase-decrease fluctuations in pay have canceled themselves out, but the productivity clause has won workers a 3-cent an hour increase.

The merit of this formula is that it makes for a closer community of responsibility between labor and management, as well as mutual responsibility for the ups and downs in the cost of living, and in our economy generally. With that increasing share in industrial responsibility, labor's prestige is not only enhanced but so is its right to share in the profits of industry.

It is disappointing to find Walter Reuther scrapping the GM formula at the UAW convention in Milwaukee. He cites the historic union opposition to escalator clauses and says that the formula was only an expedient in the first place. Now that the cost of living is declining and consequent wage decreases are in prospect, the UAW has conveniently changed its mind and apparently wants to return to the fixed-charge wage.

At the same time the Auto Workers intend to ask for a $100 monthly pension and other welfare benefits in the forthcoming contract negotiations with Ford. Their justification for such demands is, as Mr. Reuther puts it, that no one has a better right to share in the profits and rewards of business than those who produce the profits. His position is well taken. It will be more convincing to the degree that labor takes a greater share in industrial responsibility, as it did in the GM formula.

Angles on Monopoly

THE executive branch of the federal government has been doing vigorously its part in checking up on monopoly. Now, the House Committee of the Judiciary has set up an investigating group of eight members to inquire into "monopoly power" and to question the contemporary suitability of our inherited anti-trust laws.

There is an enormous range of interest in such an investigation of big business, of bigness in business and of the practices of big business, and we hope that Congress goes at it with energy and persistence and intelligence. But the interest is dangerously broad; it ranges so far that clarity and practical conclusiveness are most difficult to reach. The TNEC, for example, never led to actions which the enormous mass of material it gathered might have prompted if it had been reduced and focused. The new investigators, under Chairman Celler of New York, would do well to limit and define as sharply as possible their terms of reference.

The actual buying and selling practices of big business might be studied especially and critically. The Committee could demonstrate them so clearly that Congress might confidently classify them as all in all black, or all in all white, crooked or honest, fair or unfair, legal or illegal. It is not only ultimate sales to consumers that need examination, but all the myriad transactions an industry undertakes in the process of bringing a commodity to the consumer. Then, the Committee could stimulate an honest examination of what should be the technical problem of the relation between size and concentration of an industry and the economy and efficiency of production and distribution. Up to now, it is astonishingly difficult to find serious studies of this obvious and obviously crucial social-economic question.

All discussion of trusts and monopolies and big business lead naturally into the deepest sort of social questioning: into speculation and philosophy and ultimately religion. That is very well, and we would want the new Committee to encourage such discussion and questioning in public. But to the extent possible, that should be reserved now in Congress, until the public has elaborated its views and opinions and judgments, and given a lead to its legislators. Meanwhile, Congress will have its hands full separating the admittedly fair from unfair, and discovering the factual material which ought to underlie more sweeping decisions.

Caviar and Plums

WHEN Mrs. Perle Mesta was sworn in as Minister of Luxembourg, she scaled the heights overnight to a high diplomatic rank that career men in foreign service spend decades trying to get. Yet Mrs. Mesta brought with her no record of previous diplomatic experience.

Instead she brought other qualifications. In Washington she is known as a party hostess *par excellence,* whose formal, Fair Deal banquets have been, by non-partisan agreement, savory spreads, and she is also, as Democratic Chairman McGrath admits, a money raiser extraordinary for the Party. After taking a whirlwind indoctrination course from the State Department, Mrs. Mesta will be off to her reward and to her duties.

The nature of this appointment simply shows off President Truman's talent for political patronage. On several occasions the President has bewailed the fact that the Government has a hard time hiring and keeping qualified personnel. He blames low salaries. In some cases that is undoubtedly the cause. But another attraction to any job is the distinction, the honor that goes with the responsibility of holding it; in public service this is an important, sometimes decisive, reward. It hardly enhances the prestige or the respect of the foreign service to reward glad-handing and money-hustling with ministerial appointment, however affable and capable Mrs. Mesta is.

In the past the State Department has not been altogether happy with the quality of its foreign service personnel. One reason is that salaries are

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so low and living expenses so high that advantages of private fortune have counted in getting appointments. The objective of the Department is to put appointments on a merit and ability basis. It may be hoped that Mrs. Mesta's appointment doesn't set the clock back too far.

Freedom in Japan

THE temptation to outlaw the Communist Party grows more appealing as people the world around see more clearly the obstructionist, treasonable intentions of the Party. In Canada and the United States, espionage trials uncover subversive trafficking in high places; in France and Italy, Party members foment strikes to wreck national recovery; Chinese Communists hand their nation over to a foreign ideology and exploitation; Party leaders from Poland to New Zealand pledge allegiance to Russia and refuse to take up arms against her. These actions convince one that the Communist Party does not constitute a loyal opposition in any country.

There is cause, therefore, to question its right to exist as a legal party. And those who rub elbows with communists every day get tired of willful sabotage. They take seriously the proposal to drive communism underground.

It is not surprising that General MacArthur's patience should be worn to the point where he hints that the Party may have to be outlawed in Japan. American aid for the reconstruction of that country is now a million dollars a day. To relieve us of this burden and to enable Japan to pay her own way in the world, the Occupation has worked out a plan for balancing the budget which calls for reducing the number of Government employees on padded payrolls and directing them into more productive labor. The chief saboteurs of this plan are the communists, who control the National Congress of Industrial Organizations and other unions, and who use strikes, public rallies and violence to upset economic recovery.

The precedent for handling this situation has been set already in Western Europe. In the belief that economic recovery would take the wind out of communist sails faster than driving the Party off the scene, the West devoted itself to the Marshall Plan. The results followed true to expectation. In Italy and France the high tide of strikes and threats came and passed, leaving the Party in each country above ground but with a diminished membership.

This is the policy which the Occupation in Japan has also followed. And since the new constitution there is modeled on the American pattern of political freedom, there is additional reason for our reluctance to suppress the Party.

In Japan, as elsewhere, the fact that the communists are a threat to free institutions and economic recovery is better understood as long as they remain in the open. That way their sedition loses the fascination of secrecy. And we have already turned their challenges to our advantage.

Suppression of the Party on grounds of sedition might be justified in extraordinary crisis, but it is otherwise not an adult reaction to a threat. The decision to be or not to be a communist is best made in a free, responsible mind capable of evaluating the facts and capable still of willing its own salvation or peril.

Aspen, America

THE Aspen, Colorado (altitude, 7,800 ft), festival has produced an agreeable number of mildly amusing anecdotes—about cow pony whinnies interrupting high-toned solos, wind instrument musicians running out of air in those mountains, dudes and natives amusing each other with their clothes, and so forth. More earnestly, the festival celebrates the Goethe Bicentennial.

Without implying anything deprecatory toward Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who was a great man and great writer and no chauvinist, we avow that the Goethe apotheosis seems to us over-emphasized. The Rocky Mountains are too big, and Aspen is too much of a trip to make things come into balance.

The Goethe implications of the music played in the Saarinen tent appear to us rather remote and rather more than condescending. Mozart's Concerto in A Major has a value quite independent of the fact that Goethe liked it, and Beethoven does not endure in reflected glory. The Goethe theme is a distortion of the magnificent natural landscape.

There is, of course, big promotion. The management knows you can't ski all summer, even way up there, and Goethe quite innocently was born exactly 200 years ago. He was also conveniently a German and at the same time a marvelous synthesizer of a certain level of boundaryless European culture; he had surely read a hundred books and would have fitted well into a Union of Europe and a whole United Nations. The Weimar Leonardo is decidedly useable.

Perhaps Goethe is the big Unitarian of culture, and that is the degree of definiteness which the country can espouse this summer. The great but obscure Albert Schweitzer, coming to Colorado all the way from French Equatorial Africa, did not make it clearer. Ideologically, we feel safer with the winter skiing than the summer civilizing. But the plain and simple idea of a festival in Aspen, with mountains and horses and music and good talk, is an enormously appealing one, which we hope takes hold and spreads. There certainly can't be too many good summer fiestas, if people go and are happy and civilized, and not too subject to the promotional activities of the planners—commercial and/or cultural.

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The MRP Today

The present status of the Christian Democratic Party which grew out of the French Resistance

Pierre Dournes

JUST AFTER the fifth national congress of the MRP — held at Strasbourg — it is worthwhile to attempt now a definition of its characteristics and principles, its ends and methods. For this party, after great successes at the polls followed by grave defections, appears now to be taking its true place on the French political scene.

The MRP provides a sharp contrast not only to the two major American parties, but also to the political formations to which the French people had become accustomed before the war of 1939. Its origin is both very old and very recent. The *spirit* which animates it is that which once inspired Lamennais, Lacordaire and Ozanam—a spirit which never entirely died out but which up to 1939 apparently motivated only a tiny élite.

This spirit cannot entirely be compared with that of the Belgian Christian Social Party nor of Christian Democracy in Italy. Indeed the MRP refuses to be a confessional party. If essentially inspired by Christ and the social teachings of the Church, it seeks to unite all spiritually-minded men, from whatever sector they come; it counts among its members and representatives in office Mohammedans, Jews, Protestants and Catholics, who for the most part come from Catholic Action and the Christian trade unions (the CFTC—Confederation of Christian Trade Unions).

The MRP accepts the laicization of the State and consequently the *functional* separation of Church and State. But it wants the State to allow and guarantee all spiritual families the opportunity freely to expand.

★

THE OCCASION which was to facilitate the official birth of the MRP was the Liberation of 1944. All its founders fought in the Resistance against the Germans in France. Georges Bidault, who has just been chosen national president of the party, was in 1944 president of the National Council of the Resistance.

The first elections had as an issue, Communism, which one either accepted or feared. In 1945 and 1946 the old parties of the Right no longer existed, so to speak. For they had been discredited by their support of Vichy. Besides, General de Gaulle had not yet revealed his intention of going into politics for himself. In many matters he seemed to agree with the MRP, which also benefited unquestionably from his prestige, and the Party had great success at the polls. At first it had the largest number of deputies of any French party; it remained second largest to the Communists in the National Assembly elected for five years in 1946.

But this importance in Parliament did not at all correspond, even in 1946, to the real following which the MRP had in the country. The great disparity between the number of votes obtained in 1946 and the small number of party members explains the lack of cohesion between the elected representatives of MRP and the great bulk of those who voted for them: on the one hand more than 5,000,000 votes, on the other only 350,000 adherents of the party. While one out of five who voted for the Communists was a party member, only one out of fifteen was the proportion for MRP. This is because the social milieu in which the MRP recruits its followers has virtually no political foundation and constitutes a floating group of citizens who, according to circumstances, vote Right or vote Left.

The MRP shared the responsibility of government during a particularly difficult period. The boldness of its social program disturbed the more conservative elements; at the same time its defense of free schools alienated those circles which are traditionally hostile to the Church. But because of the audacity of its action, the honesty of its leaders and the novelty of its principles, it has been able, little by little, to gain in depth what it has been losing in mere numbers. Today it seeks first of all to perfect its organization, to set forth clearly its autonomy in relation to both churches and labor unions and to win respect for its doctrine from those who share with the MRP the responsibilities of government. Finally the appearance, on its right, of de Gaulle's party, the RPF, permits it to reject all those who had joined the party not through subscribing to its ideas but only through fear of Communism.

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THE MRP is not, as leftism is, a simple electoral formation. It is a party organized

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democratically. At its base, local *sections,* which today are very much alive, are grouped into federations. Each French *département* has a *federation* headed by a council and a president elected by all its members. Each federation, and often each section, is an active propaganda center. Certain ones, notably those in the North and in the Paris region, undertake a great effort at education of the public (through its newspapers as well as courses in political formation).

The directing organism of the party is the National Congress which meets each year. Each federation is represented there by a number of members and votes proportional to its numerical importance. The Congress sets the major lines of the movement's policy and designates the national president as well as the secretary-general.

Finally a national executive committee, likewise chosen by the members, meets frequently to come to an agreement with the president and the secretary-general on daily strategy.

This rather subtle organization has proved to be efficient in practice: it enables the members to exert a constant control over the party's leaders. The candidates for elections are chosen by the sections for city elections, by the federations for departmental and national elections.

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THEORETICALLY the French clergy takes no part in French politics. But actually they continue to have considerable influence on the voting, particularly in the countryside and in the *départements* of the East and the West which have remained most faithful to tradition. In Italy, Austria, Belgium and Holland the Church openly supports the Christian Democratic Party. In France, on the other hand, the hierarchy is sharply divided on that subject and avoids taking a stand on the matter. On the whole the younger clergy is favorable to the MRP, the priests of the large city parishes and the bishops (all powerful in influencing the votes of the Religious) tend to have the political ideas of the wealthy bourgeois who support their good works. In any case the MRP is no vassal of the Church: if most of its members are *spiritually* loyal to her, in *temporal* matters the party is independent.

The desire for autonomy (which is often manifested by differences of opinion or of tactics) also is notable in the relations between the MRP and the trade unions. If the CFTC has only the friendliest feeling for the party, many of the MRP members are affiliated to other unions, even in some instances to the Communist-dominated CGT (General Workers Confederation). Neither the CFTC nor the MRP wants any confusion on this matter: while agreeing on principles they find it possible to differ about means, and the weapons wielded by the unions are sometimes used against policies supported by the party. But this divergence in views can never be deep-seated nor long-lasting. The MRP, the party of the Christian workers, can no more permit flagrant opposition to the CFTC than it would risk an excommunication on the part of the Church. Nevertheless, the separation of functions has the merit of keeping distinct the domain of the spiritual, that of the social and that of the political as such.

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ADVERSARIES of the MRP reproach it for being an ideological bloc. The party replies that if men are grouped in political parties it is in order to defend certain interests and ideas. But the Third Republic had no organized parties with an ideological foundation except for the Marxist Party of the extreme Left. Coalitions took form in Parliament and in the nation to defend economic interests or private finance. Such is not the rôle of a party as the MRP understands it—any more than it accepts the rôle of representing a single social class. All classes should be found in its sections, united in the struggle for common ideas.

The MRP has a doctrine, then, and it boasts of it. It has a program and wants to bring it about despite the lack of understanding and the criticisms of its supporters. From the strictly political point of view it continues to favor proportional representation in all elections (a position strongly reaffirmed at the Strasbourg Congress) and to oppose the expected dissolution of the National Assembly. In the latter instance it defends a position which encounters hostility only from the Right. But it does not reject every idea of revising the Constitution which would strengthen the executive and lighten the task of the legislative branch. The MRP also stands for the independence of the judiciary.

At the social level it defends the family, favoring an increase in family allotments (proportional to the number of dependents) rather than a general rise in wages; it is the author of a housing law which seeks to encourage construction and enable large families to be decently lodged; it proclaims the equality of families in regard to education (the Poinsot-Chapuis decree, which authorizes the communes and *départements* to vote to family associations credits for sending poor children to the school of their parents' choice). The MRP has shown itself favorable to social security, at the same time seeking its decentralization and a stricter control of funds.

In economic matters the MRP has been one of the architects of the policy of nationalization, which it continues to favor although it does seek a reform of nationalized enterprises. It holds in effect that the sources of energy—both exploitations which were private monopolies, and natural

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resources in general, which were created for the benefit of all—should be the property of the State. But nationalizations, desirable as they are in principle, have not always turned out well. It is important not to bureaucratize the industrial sector and to reestablish the initiative and authority of engineers and executives. This policy is linked to monetary stabilization and balancing the budget. The MRP wants to secure a better standard of living for the workers by increasing the purchasing power of the franc rather than by continually raising wages.

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THE FOREIGN policy of the party is that of the majority of Frenchmen, for ever since the Liberation it has held the portfolio of foreign affairs. Peace is the objective but a peace founded on justice and guaranteeing liberty. All the efforts of Bidault and Schumann have been in the direction of mediating between the two blocs. In the face of the actual division of the world into two camps, the MRP—and with it the bulk of the French people—has chosen liberty of action. A partisan of Marshall aid to Europe, a signer of the Atlantic Pact, and in general supporting everything which can assure collective security of the West, the MRP is likewise an initiator of the project of European Union. Nevertheless the MRP believes that France has not only a European rôle to play (Hitler also spoke of France as only European) but she has world responsibilities. Therefore the party seeks to unite the French people behind a policy of international association preserving autonomy (not of assimilation imposing uniformity).

If many of its members, and a few of its representatives in Parliament, have left the MRP for the RPF of de Gaulle, and if the latter's appearance on the French political scene has resulted in great losses of votes, the bulk of MRP members has remained loyal and confidently awaits the day when the RPF flood will fall back. If membership of the MRP ranges from the most moderate men to some of the most radical, all agree on essentials and particularly on opposing the RPF. More than once the congress at Strasbourg returned to the theme that the primary danger for France in 1949 was the RPF and not Communism —or rather that Communism is a danger only through the RPF.

The best justification for Communism is assuredly the victory of social conservatism and political reaction which the accession to power of the RPF would signify. Moreover, if the RPF held the reins of government, Communism would play the key rôle in the resistance to this new fascism. That is why the MRP wants to keep in power a Republican coalition which is on guard against the Right as well as the Left and deprives the RPF and Communism of their reasons for existence. To restore the authority of the State and to reestablish French prosperity and greatness, these things the MRP intends to do without the RPF and, if necessary, in opposition to it. To realize social justice and at the same time safeguard personal liberties, the MRP will accomplish this step by step and thereby frustrate the propaganda of the Communists, whose surest allies are poverty, suffering and injustice.

On Hearing Mr. Budenz

In taking a black-and-white view of the world, communists and anti-communists betray their naivete

John P. Sisk

IT WAS a beautiful evening in Spokane. Those of us who had arrived late at the Civic Building stood briefly on the steps and watched, with sentiments ranging from righteous indignation to superior amusement, the also late and hastily organized placard parade of picketers. The placards urged us to Smash Fascism American Brand, to Stop The Witch Hunt, to Boycott Judas Budenz (For Thirty Pieces of Silver He Speaks), and warned us that Thought Control Is Un-American, that Hitler Too Red-Baited, and that Budenz Stole Goebbels' Lies. Then we went down to the auditorium, fortunately still on time, because no one had been able to make the public address system work.

When the system finally came to life, Mr. A. F. Canwell (former chairman of the Washington State legislative un-American activities committee and recently defeated for reelection) rose to introduce the speaker. Quite at ease, he first apologized for the pickets who, he said, were not particularly good looking and who could not even sing (it seems that at a recent demonstration in Seattle the pickets chanted their sentiments as they marched).

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Mr. Budenz spoke at considerable length. From the street that flanked the auditorium there came periodically a boisterous shouting and the jazzing of motors, whether maliciously intended or not it was hard to tell. But it was not hard to tell that Mr. Budenz, without making any pretense of being a polished public speaker, had captured the attention of his audience.

Of the questions that followed the address one might say either that they reflected unfavorably on the maturity and intelligence of the audience or that they indicated a common sense reluctance on the part of the questioners to be mistaken in public for party-liners or hecklers. The audience confined itself to such queries as: Was Mr. Budenz in favor of outlawing the CP? When and why did he join the CP? Why did he leave it? What about so-and-so who had once been a communist? Were there many communists in American universities?

★

WHEN WE LEFT the Civic Building after the address it had begun to rain and the placard bearers had departed. However, we were not to be denied the satisfaction of a certain *ex post facto* daring. The next morning the Spokane *Spokesman Review* reminded us that we had been part of "an audience of approximately 400 which defied a picket line to hear him (Budenz) denounce communism."

Listening to Mr. Budenz denounce communism was for this member of the audience at least a depressing rather than daring experience. For one thing, it was hard to see how Mr. Budenz's address had anything more than hortatory and premonitory value. The even moderately informed layman must have heard little he didn't already know. Compared with those of a Koestler or a Berdyaev, the insights into communism afforded by Mr. Budenz were thin indeed. It can be said, however, that he pretended to be giving his audience nothing more than he gave it.

But what really made the experience depressing was not so much what Mr. Canwell or Mr. Budenz said as the fact that what they said made one think of what it would be very pleasant to forget: the semantic chaos that gathers, like a current about a charged wire, around such a pregnant issue as this one of communism. Is not one of the worst aspects of any apprehended evil the position of mental confusion it can drive one into: so that in trying to protect himself one frequently delivers himself bound to his opponent?

So it was depressing to be reminded by Mr. Canwell's and Mr. Budenz's mainly black-and-white approach to this complex issue that even a relatively informed democracy is ill at ease in anything but a two-dimensional universe. It was depressing to think that the public's attitude is being and will probably continue to be shaped mainly by two-dimensional articulations and exhortations and that, correspondingly, any position this country takes with regard to Russian Communism will very likely be a fear-inspired position: which is as much as saying that we face the grave possibility of having our ultimate position determined *for* us by the communists rather than *by* ourselves.

What strikes a Christian about a communist's attitude towards life is its naive lack of depth; and this no doubt is one of its great appeals to the articulation-hungry and complexity-leary human mind.

In many ways the communist world is an eighteenth-century world (its debt to the Enlightenment is obvious). Everything in it is Cartesianly clear and simple. It hates the asymmetrical, the enthusiastic, the mysterious, the mystic. It suggests Newton and Hartley: the procrustean ordering of all reality on one or two readily graspable ideas. It is one of the important attempts to solve post Renaissance complexity and confusion by denying that there is any real basis in reality for them. One ought not to forget, of course, that communism, like a good deal of the eighteenth century, is capable of getting quite mystical and enthusiastic about its professedly anti-mystic and anti-enthusiastic "reason." Berdyaev's *The Origin of Russian Communism* is good on this point.

★

NOW IT WAS distressing to be reminded by Mr. Canwell and Mr. Budenz that so many anti-communists share this characteristic with the communists: the attempt to solve complexity and confusion simply by denying that there is any basis for them in fact. It is after all not really hard to detect a communist or a man under communist influence: he is simply a man (this is the uneasy impression one gets) who opposes or questions in any way certain organized anti-communists and their no doubt necessary committees. If the opposer is not a communist he is a fellow-traveler, or a sympathizer, or a muddle-head, or a well-intentioned dupe, and what ultimately is the difference? So from the Russian point of view: you may be a Trotskyite, a Menshevik, a fascist, a western decadent or an out-and-out stinking capitalist, but ultimately you are nothing more than a menace to orthodoxy, and any other name you are given is purely a matter of polemic convenience. The black and the white. It is a very comforting and confidence-inspiring way of going about your business. Neither the communists nor the anti-communists nor the infinite legion of placard bearers are the first ones to find this out.

The plain fact of the matter is that the bulk

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of communist, and distressingly too much anti-communist, polemic is hacked out of the same wood. First, a point of infallible orthodoxy is established (or asserted); second, most of the complexity or confusion in the issue is denied validity; third, the technique of fear is applied: i.e., any opposition is not so much treated intelligently as it is branded with terms pejorative enough, by common emotional agreement, to preclude all real argument.

When the user of this polemic is passionately convinced of his own integrity and rectitude he is capable of giving even the coolest agnostic some uneasy moments. He is capable also, as all history testifies, of becoming extremely machiavellian: for in the holy cause no blows are foul. The user of this polemic may, however, be at a grave psychological disadvantage: to the extent that he is persuaded by his own argument he may be dominated by his own technique of fear.

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IT IS depressing also to see how little the context of an attitude means to too much anti-communist polemic. It could be that this kind of controversy dare not run the risk of giving context much attention, for the gestalt consideration of a statement is time-consuming and confusing to one's singleness of purpose. If a man *sounds* like a communist he is one; if he *sounds* like an anti-communist he is one. Surely this is simple and clear enough. But then Mr. Truman, with his Civil Rights proposals and his differences with the Committee on un-American Activities, *sounds* just like Mr. Stalin, who also criticizes American racial discrimination and has no reason to love the Committee on un-American Activities. Of course we *know* Mr. Truman is not a communist sympathizer: his context is powerful enough to force itself upon us. But suppose a legislator, a college professor or a private citizen criticizes anti-communists, himself being an anti-communist. It is no longer so difficult to concentrate on how he *sounds* and ignore his context.

Perhaps the above itself over-simplifies by suggesting that contexts are more universally and naively ignored than they are or can be. But the point is that they are too often acknowledged on an intellectual level and ignored on the level of feeling and action, and that the kind of polemic I am speaking of both exploits and aggravates this schizoid condition.

The paradox of this kind of thinking and talking is that while confusion seems to have been resolved it can actually be more rampant than ever, doing its dirty work under our noses without being seen. If sincere Americans who ask intelligent questions of Budenzes and un-American committees are indiscriminately lumped with fellow-travelers and muddle-heads, who stands to gain most: ourselves or the communists? Who stands to suffer if ultimately in our panic we stifle all criticism of our way of life because the "same" criticism, in an entirely different context, is being indulged in by the enemy? All the answers are depressing.

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I AM AWARE of the objections to the above: that this is a time of emergency, a fight for life, and that there is no place for "fancy" distinctions and "intellectual" chatter; that such talk as I am indulging in here is a typical example of the muddle-headedness that is founded on a misapprehension of the gravity of the situation and the enemy's beguiling propaganda; that any objection to the thoughts or activities of the organized anti-communists, however intended and in whatever context, does a disservice to the country since it only increases doubt and confusion. These are good, i.e. effective, arguments; they have always been found so, even by the communists. But they are only weapons which are no better than the position they defend.

This is not to say that there is no such thing as an emergency situation or that there is no danger of becoming paralyzed, Hamlet-like, with the bewildering complexity of a situation. But it seems to me that there is a greater danger of interpreting such an observation as Vallery's—"How many things we must not know in order to act"—to mean that man acts most effectively when he acts in confident ignorance. Besides, it is useful to remember that people who live in a world of black and white always find themselves in an extreme and therefore emergency situation.

And there is something else that is very depressing to think about: the element of righteous, he-man anti-intellectualism in American anti-communism. No doubt for many an honest American the intellectual class has a connotation of diabolism (hasn't there always been a strain of primitivism in the American tradition anyhow: the simple man of action, whose wisdom is gleaned practically in the school of hard knocks, which is "nature," looking with suspicion upon the subtle-tongued man of book learning?). For too many Americans, university professors and writers are emotionally identified, if not intellectually, with all that is radical and subversive. Clearly the intellectuals are partially at fault, in so far as members of the class have actually fallen from grace. But whose ever the fault, the intellectual approach to the subject of communism is too indiscriminately feared and rejected in too many quarters, while the righteously arbitrary, and so often proudly irrational, approach is correspondingly in favor.

One wonders to what extent this suspicion of sophistication and intellectuality is an inferiority

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complex with regard to communism, whose agents are frequently pictured as being so diabolically clever in hoodwinking the American people that one wonders why the Kremlin was not moved to Washington long ago.

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FINALLY, listening to Mr. Budenz and Mr. Canwell it was depressing to be reminded that when people speak of freedom nowadays they probably mean security. Certainly the communists threaten both, but are they so interdependent that to protect one is automatically to protect the other? The security-motivated man will sacrifice his freedom. He will even offer it to you before you seek it from him: but he will probably keep his "freedom" at the same time, because it is still a desirable word with which to associate himself.

Now if a nation or group wishes to protect its security, it can certainly be within its rights. But it seems to me that no group is doing itself any good if it thinks that all measures directed to its material safety and well-being are also directed to its freedom. In other words, in any kind of battle the decision whether to fight for reasons of liberty or for reasons of security is crucial, even where both are involved. In my opinion, too many anti-communists (like the communists) have consciously or unconsciously decided for security and for that reason are not greatly impressed when they are accused of violating or threatening individual freedom. And they are able to sin here with happy ignorance because they have defined freedom for themselves as security.

I am reminded here of an accusation Mr. Budenz very rightly hurled at Russian communism: that it has a complete and unChristian faith in the ability of man to achieve the natural materialist paradise. The irony is that, vigorously and piously as we object to communism, in our own hearts we to a great degree share this faith. It is this important, if only partial, agreement with the communists about the nature of the *summum bonum* that makes us, like them, be motivated first by security, and like them so often willing to let individual freedom go by the boards.

And it is our national security complex that makes us so reluctant to accept the hazards that are inseparable from the Christian individualism and liberty to which we still give lip service at least. As a matter of fact, it is our security complex that urges us to "sublimate" individual liberty in a kind of mass liberty: to be content to feel ourselves a part of a larger unit that, in relation to other large units, is respected and safe and therefore "free."

But—and this is the final depressing thought—might we not now be approaching or actually in a period when the world generally suffers from a security complex with a corresponding and pathological fear of freedom and its involved hazards? A world where the frightened orthodoxies sit facing one another with their quivering fingers on their atom bombs? And where paradoxically everyone is whirled towards the monster hazard?

For you cannot, after all, avoid hazard, as I am sure Mr. Budenz would agree. To shrink from the possibility of it is, like courting it for its own sake, the mark of the adolescent. You cannot avoid hazard but you have an important choice about it. Either you accept it voluntarily, as the condition of the good life and inseparable from the reach for perfection, or you are herded petrified with terror into it.

Communications

Is Red China in the Moscow Fold?

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: Congratulations on the article by Harry W. Flannery anent the Chinese Reds. COMMONWEAL readers may be interested in a bit of further documentation that makes the labeling of Mr. Mao as a "Tito" by our "experts" even sillier.

The Cominform publishes at Bucharest an official journal, *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*. This journal prints the official statements of Messrs. Stalin, Malenkov, Molotov & Co., as well as official Communist Party news. The 15 January 1948 issue carries a long speech by Mr. Mao, lining Red China up with "anti-imperialist" Russia. The 1 July 1948 issue quotes Mr. Mao on the revolution of the proletariat, etc. That January 1948 issue is notable for the fact that the Mao item is half-a-page in size; it denounces the US; and it specifically names the Soviet nion as the ally of Mr. Mao.

Finally, the 1 November 1948 issue contains a signed article by Mr. Mao stating: "The Communist Party of China is a Party built on the example of the Communist Party of the USSR (Bolshevik) and is developing along the same lines."

Three months later, journalists in the United States began to discover that Mr. Mao was really a possible Tito. The item in the New York *Times* for 1 July 1949 —Mao Expects No Help From West; Hails Soviet As China's True Ally—should finally (with COMMONWEAL) nail that one.

R. L. G. DEVERALL.

Questionnaires

Norris, Tenn.

TO the Editors: Dr. Kornhauser and I seem to be in complete agreement with respect to the impropriety of using loaded questionnaires. I regret the more,

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therefore, that I failed to check my sources on the date of his resignation from the Board of the Psychological Corporation. I am also glad to know—and indeed I might well have suspected—that Dr. Kornhauser used his position on the Board to combat the methods to which we both object.

JAMES RORTY

The Labor Movement

A Tragedy of Inexperience

ONE thing about the strange case of Miss Judith Coplon is that she was not charged with being a Communist. When she was asked the question, whether she was or not, she denied it. But it was not for this that she was being tried. She did not have to plead to that indictment.

We cannot, yet, discover why she agreed to engage in espionage, because though she has been found guilty and has been sentenced, she insists that she is innocent. But that she made such an engagement seems indisputably clear. There is reason, then, to suppose that to her crime she has added lying. There is little reason to suppose that she was simply stricken with the disease of love—stunned and blinded there in the New York museum, as at some Damascus, by a Russian who became like unto a god.

There is little reason to suppose that she was just a conscript to her heart, or that Valentin Gubitchev made strange, sensuous impressions on what her blowsy lawyer called her "female heart and mind." Nor does there seem to be reason to suppose that some pale and delicate emotions entrapped this Brooklyn lady. For what shines through the evidence and her conduct is a mind scintillating and coruscating, if sometimes flippant, in which she patently took great pride. Tiny she may have been and, maybe, at times unattractive, restive and discontented, made desperate with not unheeded loneliness, her pursuit of happiness tracked by Time's winged chariot. But here a mind was at work, its jewels open and visible unlike those in my wrist-watch.

It is because of this that she defies imprisonment in the ordinary categories of our judgment. And it is because of this that she is of special interest to me. I disclaim at once ability to understand her, much less to explain her. But as her motivations are not the ordinary ones, so she could not have been seduced by the ordinary blandishments. And she is still the more a puzzle and a bewilderment. She is not "a woman shining like the sun."

For example, she cannot be explained on grounds of poverty. She is not, like some factory worker, a child of economic depression, dreamily drafted by "pie in the sky, by and by" when monopoly is destroyed by democratic socialism. Her urges were not, in that sense, those of the "economic man," hankering after meat and drink and a roof against the rain. She did not—like some European war-destroyed girl—sell herself for food.

Nor did she know the more bourgeois symbols of lack. Gletkin, the examining magistrate, in Koestler's *Darkness at Noon,* distinguishes himself from Ruboshov by this kind of want. "You were given a watch as a child." Judy Coplon, to put it that way, had her watch.

She had, besides, the rich gift of her mind, which had its many visible and invisible prizes that are the badge of academic distinction. She had no need to wear them. They were there in her record like citations in the company of honorable discharge. And they won her her job with promotions and the secure promise of advancement. She sad come into Canaan and seen it overflowing with milk and honey.

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WHAT then, flawed her character like an imperfect jewel in my watch? What led her down the labyrinthine ways, her mind made tortuous and secretive, her conduct almost openly furtive, though clumsy like a detective on his first assignment?

This is difficult to answer, for we have very little evidence. The answer would be one thing were we able to show that she went as a Communist into the service of our government during the war. It would be another had she become attracted to the "peace" against American imperialism since the cold war began. As a matter of fact neither of these suppositions strictly requires that she be more than a fellow traveler. Each of them, nonetheless, requires peculiar receptivity to what must have seemed to her to be ideals.

But what seems to me here important is that Judith Coplon is more than the sum of her ideals, her mind and her certain lack of humility toward the limitations of her mind. She is, I think, in large measure the child of inexperience.

It is the theory behind all of our teaching that facts constitute a part of the learning process. It is part of the theory that professors are required to present the facts and that the student is able to draw his own conclusions from them. It is part of the theory of American education that a university is a market-place in which certain ideas are in competition with many other ideas; but that the student lives in a buyer's market and can pick and choose, among them all, the ideas which seem endearing to him. For it is a further part of the theory that his teachers can help him in the difficult art of learning to think. And that if he is mature, or is to become mature, he must learn to think, and to think for himself. It is presumed, in other words, that he can learn to order his own beer.

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WITH this theory I have no special quarrel. I presume the ability of the student to find his way in the market-place of ideas. On the whole it is fair to say that if he cannot find his way he has no right to be there at all. Moreover, all of life involves some risks. There came a day when I had to let my daughter test her ability to act on my teaching of the meaning of red and

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green lights. For had she remained on the sidewalk, she could not have crossed the street. Obviously she might have been killed crossing by herself; but that was a risk I had to take.

And yet the thing goes deeper than this. It goes deeper in two ways. In the first place the competition of ideas inside a school and outside of it are different processes. In the university one is presumed to be in love with ideas without reference to their uses. One who is presumed to be a priestess of pure truth is, in a sense, living monastically.

But out in what is loosely called "the world," men are not so dedicated. Ideas do not hold interest for themselves alone. Ideas are not wooed freely as by men who strive for right. They are conveyed to us stained, made maculate by men who want to use us in "the battle for the streets." By them, ideas are abused, twisted, distorted, despoiled, beaten, raped and bruised. They are used as ladders and as bridges by those who would use men as bridges across ideological torrents, or ladders to enter a house for burglary of riches or of power. Or they are used softly, sweetly, seductively as George Moore's hero uses them in *Esther Waters*. They become the material which men use as helps to say, as Swift has it, "the thing that is not."

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THE JUDY COPLONS of life, I risk the saying, are not prepared for this unfrank indecency and this misuse. It is for this that I characterize her as a child of inexperience.

I submit that the labor movement has an interest in these young, these college young. I submit that the interest runs on into the nature of an obligation. For, if I am right in this analysis, no organization has such direct, continuous and intimate knowledge of the character and work of what Harold Laski has called the disciplined secret battalions.

I am aware, of course, that the officers and soldiers in the labor movement are surrounded by a thousand difficulties and have a house, or houses of their own to maintain and repair. I am aware that they must spend men and time and money in educating their own. And I am aware of the deficiencies, in this respect, that mark a good many of the labor unions.

But I am not asking them to take over the task of educating the college young. I am not asking them to provide crutches for the mentally disabled or confused.

I am, however, proposing this: that the labor unions establish liaison with the students in our colleges and universities throughout the country. I am proposing that the labor unions set up special speakers' bureaus from which representatives can be sent into the classrooms and into student forums and student assemblies and student clubs throughout the scholastic country. I suggest that the lists of these men, their purpose and their functions be made available to all the heads of our colleges and universities, to all the social science people, especialy in our colleges. That these men, from the schools and from the labor unions, get to know each other personally and well.

For it is a fact of my experience that many of our college men and women, and here I include professors, have a really profound interest in the American labor movement. But I can testify, too, that between this interest and knowledge there is a wide gap. This gap can be closed, I think, in the ways I suggested.

And in closing it many things will result. Purely academic knowledge will, to that extent, become functional. The irritant frustration, the feeling of hopelessness that no attack is being made daily on our economic concentration and its consequent corruption will dissolve under this new knowledge and this new personal experience.

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FOR I am convinced that communists are made out of the inchoate idealism of inexperienced, though educated, young. I am convinced that the young, or many of them—those who would become communists and spies, at any rate—are like the moths in my room, who burn and break themselves against the electric bulbs. They seek the light and will injure and destroy themselves in their seeking after it. I do not know much about moths; and I have only Shelley for authority that they desire the stars. Nonetheless they are attracted to my light bulbs. And the reason must be that they are not offered the stars.

And so, I timorously suppose, they sublimate the inherited desire. Could it not be that the tiny moth, Miss Coplon—if she will forgive me—too, found sublimation of her great desire for perfection and for peace. I do not mean peace of mind alone, if at all, but in the peace the communists and the Wallaces, the Robesons, the Gubitchevs, the fellow travelers hold out against "American imperialism."

I know some priests and some ministers who take their social young through our plants and factories. So that they see, these academic and social young, what our engineering and our assembly lines are like—and what it is like to work on these lines.

I propose that our labor representatives take our college people into their plants and into their union offices and halls and meetings whenever possible.

For I am certain that the marriage of fact and ideal that will flow from these suggestions of mine, the story heard and seen of the meaning and purpose and consequence of unions; the story heard and seen of what the communists and their hitch-hikers have done, want done, do, and would like to do, are so vastly different a thing from what the seduced are told—and do so often believe it to be—that it must follow that successful seduction will cease.

I do not hold this out as a universal salversan, or as some magic liquid in which all difficulty is soluble. But I think that no man ever bought a mine he knew was salted.

FRANCIS DOWNING

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Catholic International News

"National Democrats" Rise in East Germany

DEVELOPMENTS during the past eight-week period in the Soviet Zone of Germany have indicated that the Soviet Military Administration is shifting its support from the Socialist Unity Party (Communist) to the new National Democratic Party (also called the "Party of the Little Nazis") and the "National Front" movement which aims at uniting all parties and organizations on a vaguely nationalist and pro-Russian basis. Reliable reports state that financial subsidies to all Communist organizations and institutions have been drastically cut lately, the only exception being the People's Police, a Russian-controlled new German Army.

One of the most sought-after subsidies, special food packages (without payment or ration coupons) to national, regional and local leaders of the SED (Socialist Unity Party), has been discontinued. Many staff members have been dismissed "for lack of money," for instance at the SED State Headquarters for Thuringia, at Erfurt. At Roschuetz, where a large building for a Training School for People's Judges was half completed, orders were received from the SMA (Soviet Military Administration) to stop construction work immediately.

The National Democratic Party, on the other hand, has become prosperous almost overnight. It has opened well-staffed offices everywhere, even in small villages, and has begun to hold numerous meetings and publish pamphlets in large quantities. Since there is hardly any money left in private hands in the Soviet Zone, most observers agree that the funds cannot come from anyone else but the Russians.

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The National Democratic Party (NDP) was launched two years ago by a group of pro-Russian rightist politicians and Army officers for the declared purpose of attracting the "little Nazis," i.e., those who joined the Nazi Party but did not play a major role in it. For a long time the NDP was generally regarded as something like a "preparatory school" which could find out who was worthy of eventually being admitted to the SED. In recent weeks, however, the NDP has shown that it has a personality of its own and that it represents a brand of pro-Russian politics different from that of the SED.

Most of the leaders and salaried organizers of the NDP are former Nazi Army officers who joined the Moscow Free Germany Committee and the German Officers' League when they were prisoners-of-war in Russia.

At NDP meetings the leaders declare openly that they do not believe in Communism and do not wish Germany to become Communist. They praise, however, the "great achievements of the Soviet Union" and the strength of the "invincible" Red Army, and emphasize the need for "a great alliance between Germany and Russia." Many of the arguments used in NDP propaganda correspond to the traditional "Eastern orientation" of one branch of German nationalism (*Bismarck, Moeller van den Bruck, Seeckt,* and even *Goebbels* before 1931) rather than to the statements of the Cominform.

In the Socialist Unity Party as well as in the National Democratic Party and in the remnants of the Christian Democratic and Liberal Democratic Parties a "National Front for German Unity" has been advocated ever since the People's Congress elections of May 15-16 revealed the weakness of Communism in Eastern Germany. Under the new "Front" formula, the emphasis apparently is to be shifted from Communism to a pro-Russian German nationalism. (Berlin, 7/9—CIP.)

Crisis in German Socialist Unity Party

HAVING suffered a resounding defeat in the People's Congress elections of May 15-16, the Communist-dominated Socialist Unity Party of the Soviet Zone of Germany is rent by personal rivalry among its leaders and by dissension over the party's policy.

The District Secretary of the Party for Apolda, Lenk, was dismissed from his position and expelled from the State Committee of the Party for alleged "opportunism." He had been a Communist Party member since 1923, but was recently reported to have criticized the Russians for "exploiting" the Soviet Zone of Germany. The District Committee of the Socialist Unity Party for Altenburg was dissolved, and all its members were expelled from party membership.

In the State Committee for Thuringia, a dispute has been going on for some time between the Chairman, Heinrich Hoffmann, a former Social Democrat, and the Vice Chairman, Kurt Laessig, a Communist old-timer. In May it looked as if Hoffman were winning the fight, because Laessig received orders from Berlin to leave for an immediate "vacation." In the meantime, however, the Central Party Control Commission came from Berlin to Weimar to begin a full-fledged "investigation." It looks now as if Hoffman would be ousted and replaced by Laessig.

Several persons who are well acquainted with the internal situation in the Socialist Unity Party told CIP that there are now three "trends" in the Party: (1) The Leninists (who hold most of the leading positions and are willing to carry out Moscow's orders with blind obedience) are estimated at numbering only about 20% of the membership. (2) Former Social Democrats (who have no great love for Moscow and are opportunist and lukewarm rather than fanatical) are estimated at 40%. They hold some leading positions, but not as many as the first group. (3) "National" Communists (who advocate a "German" rather than a "Russian" brand of Communism) are estimated to constitute another 40%. The fact that this group has been growing appears to have strengthened Soviet distrust of the German Communists. (Berlin, 7/1—CIP.)

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Of Note

New Parish Life

LARGELY inspired by the works and the writings of two French priests, Abbés Godin and Michonneau, there is in France a growing movement to re-invigorate parish life. Emeric A. Lawrence, O.S.B., writes about it in *Orate Fratres*.

> . . . The *community*—that is the idea and the ideal, the fulfillment of which is the dream of the priests of the *Mission de France*. The community understood—not in our American sense of a loosely-joined grouping of individual persons mildly interested during the year in one or the other town project—but conceived as an organic union of members, joined one to another by their common life-principle, the Christ-life, and conscious of their union and powerful missionary force. Godin says: "The purpose of priests is to build communities rather than to make individual converts." A startling statement, but easily understood as good sense in the light of their experience. . . .
>
> In this community life as conceived both by Godin and Michonneau, the liturgy is taken for granted as essential for establishing and strengthening the bond between members of the community, and for creating the sense of a common apostolic purpose. . . . You can only build a community and keep it alive by helping the people to realize what they are as baptized and confirmed members in the living organism. The means Michonneau uses, besides constant preaching, is a communal liturgy, "the very cornerstone of our program."

Population Control

IN ENGLAND, the Report of the Royal Commission on Population, issued after five years' research, advocates birth control as a means of keeping the population to size. In the London *Catholic Herald,* Michael de la Bedoyere comments on the Report.

> . . . there is justification for the spacing of births, a matter which the Church fully allows for by either voluntary abstinence or natural limitation through the "safe period." It may in parenthesis be pointed out that in a less absurd state of society the free flow of population from over-populated to under-populated countries would involve much less need for this limitation, though in fairness it must be added that even this could only postpone the difficulty, and not solve it.
>
> But it is quite another matter when the Commission makes itself the champion of artificial birth-control for the purpose of smoothing the way for those who wish to limit their families for more or less selfish reasons. Even here, we think, the Catholic of today will allow for real economic hardships that would justify *natural* methods of birth-control, but many of the Commission's pleadings are not directed to offset real hardship, but only to spare parents inconveniences and an unfashionable way of life.
>
> In general it may be said that the Report as a whole fails in two very important respects.
>
> In the first place, it almost entirely overlooks the spiritual nature of man and is therefore unconsciously led towards many recommendations which, while they may appear to ease social and economic difficulties, must in the end do more harm than good to the human personality whose true growth is in and through spiritual and moral struggles courageously met and overcome.
>
> And in the second place, the Report fails in its own chosen sphere to deal adequately with the problem which its own findings have set it, namely the expected lop-sided composition of our future population which will for a long time progressively lose the productive proportion of our people and progressively increase its relatively unproductive proportion. Its whole trend is likely to encourage further decreases in the population, whereas the need today is certainly for a more constructive and traditional attitude to marriage responsibilities.

The Screen

Those Great Open Spaces

THERE is something about the out-of-door films at this time of year that fills the heart with longing for cool, clear waters, bright blue skies and perhaps a mountain or two in the background. We have several such movies this week, and if your vacation is not yet due, perhaps they will help you escape for awhile into their delectable scenery.

"Colorado Territory" displays some mighty pretty backgrounds as its characters go about their unholy living and dying. It tries awfully hard to exculpate outlaw Joel McCrea who just can't resist pulling off that one last hold-up of a $100,000 payroll. You know—loyalty to his old boss and stuff. But the villains with Joel plan to double-cross him, so we can't feel too sorry when they are caught in the big train robbery and get the rope right then and there. That leaves poor wounded Joel with two girls on his hands: Dorothy Malone, who almost turns him in for the reward, and Virginia Mayo, who sticks by him to the end—an end which proves very exciting when the posse surround this hard-working outlaw. Director Raoul Walsh only partly succeeds in making you forget the plot's cliches. But as I said, the Colorado scenery is really wonderful.

"Calamity Jane and Sam Bass" also works overtime to excuse its leading characters who, to put it mildly are not strictly honorable. It is true that Sam (Howard Duff) gets several raw deals from villians and others, but he failed to win my sympathy either before or after he became an outlaw. The two girls in this film no doubt represent Sam's good and bad natures: Dorothy Hart as the one who hopes to bring out the best in this

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wayward boy; and Yvonne De Carlo as Calamity Jane, who thinks that Sam, as is, is best. The Production Code being what it is, neither girl gets Sam. But the scenery is gorgeous. Don't you wonder sometimes why those boys and girls didn't just enjoy it instead of shooting each other up?

"Roughshod" offers something a little different in the way of a western. While Robert Sterling and his kid brother, Claude Jarman, Jr., are driving a herd of horses to California, they give a lift to four gals in Nevada who have been kicked out of town for very obvious reasons. The trek is full of perils—provided not only by some villians out to get revenge on Robert, but also by the girls led by Gloria Graham whose behavior doesn't quite meet with Robert's approval, especially with little Claude hanging around. Mark Robson has directed this film with emphasis on suspense and characterization; and he manages to hold your interest throughout the long, exciting journey. This is something for adults who like their westerns rough but it is not aimed at the thirteen-year-old level.

"The Great Joe Young" might please the kids, but then again they may be as confused as I was as to whether this is meant to be comedy or a sad commentary on the ways of civilization. Its story starts in Africa where a little girl gets a baby gorilla. Years later she is played by Terry Moore, and Joe Young, the gorilla, is played by a lot of *papier mache*. A showman (Robert Armstrong) induces the girl to come to Hollywood with her pet to put on an act for the new night club he's opening. The club, fixed up like a zoo, and the act, with Joe as the principal attraction, are really beyond description. Then one night some drunks work on Joe and he goes beserk. Well, kiddies, you have no idea what a shambles he makes of that night club. Then the police get in on the deal; and as the girl and her boyfriend (Ben Johnson) are helping Joe escape, they pass a burning orphanage. Well, words fail me. Not since "King Kong" has there been anything like it.

"The Big Steal" might have been called "The Big Chase" because it has one of the most exciting chase sequences ever put into a movie. This particular pursuit takes place in the mountains in Mexico and doesn't stop for curves or ups or downs; and it'll leave you as breathless as its participants who are sitting in autos that swerve dangerously along the winding road as they go faster and faster. I don't want to spoil this picture for you by telling why these four people are involved in the chase, but let it suffice to say that Robert Mitchum and Jane Greer are chasing Patric Knowles, and they in turn are being pursued by William Bendix.

The plot has some tricky surprises and plenty of humor to relieve the excitement. Don Siegel has directed the cast (which also includes Ramon Navarro in a delightful impersonation of a Mexican police official) to accentuate thrills more than characterization. The film has caught well the flavor of place, and its stunning photography of Mexico may even make you reach for those travel folders. Then again you may be so tired after all this chasing that you'll be glad to stay home. PHILIP T. HARTUNG

Making the Most of Marriage

LEO J. TRESE

ON AN average of twice a month the 4th class mail brings to my desk, from varied and obscure publishers, circulars offering "frank and revealing" books on sex, or on marriage, or on the facts of human reproduction. Each broadside is a thinly veiled appeal to morbid curiosity. Usually there is a promise of "actual illustrations" to titillate the fancy. Such phrases as "honest knowledge" and "necessary hygiene" enable the sucker to preserve his self-righteousness even as he ministers to his libido.

Not that a knowledge of sex is not desirable. It is fully as just and right that men and women should understand the sacred and tremendous gift of procreation, as it is that a priest should understand the holy power by virtue of which he stands at the altar. But holy things fare poorly in unholy hands. Tongue-in-cheek publishers are no more competent to teach the meaning of sex, than are bust-conscious movie producers to teach the meaning of love.

Even as I write these lines, it occurs to me how handicapped the average Catholic is, in obtaining thorough and reverent indoctrination in the art of love and the function of procreation. There are the pre-marital instructions, of course, in which the priest, often in an atmosphere of reserve and mutual embarrassment, propounds to the engaged couple the general principles of Christian marriage. There are marriage instructions in printed form, like the Capuchin Father Meyer's little volume, *Plain Talks on Marriage,* which many priests give to prospective spouses.

Yet, with so much to learn that can be helpful, so little of it can be absorbed in the excitement of wedding preparation. And yet the happiness of many people, especially of their own children, depends upon a couple's open-eyed approach to their union's fundamental purpose. After the honeymoon, a week or ten years, Catholics are at a loss where to turn for the solution of their more intimate problems. Usually they turn nowhere, but muddle through as best they can; never, perhaps, finding in their marriage the full happiness and satisfaction that is latently there.

One practical resolution for myself as a pastor, is to begin building up a library of Christian books on sex, marriage, and child-training. It will be a library available to any adult in my parish who may wish to consult or borrow from it. A list of titles with an indication of contents, will be made known by a circular letter to all married couples within my jurisdiction.

★

AMONG the works included in such a library certainly will be the new trilogy, *Two in One Flesh,* written in England by Rev. E. C. Messenger, Ph.D., and published in this country by the Newman Press. The first of the three volumes is taken up with annihilating the

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notion that there is anything essentially evil or shameful about sex. Painstakingly Father Messenger traces through Scripture and Tradition the Church's constant teaching (despite waverings of individual theologians) that sex is God's handiwork. As such it is by its very origin good, sacred, and precious.

This first volume can be of real help to parents and educators (including the good Sisters) in instilling in children a correct attitude towards sex. Avoiding, for example, the mistake that so often results from training a child in modesty and teaching by inference that there is something bad or shameful about the genital organs. But I do think that Father Messenger's strictures are a bit outdated so far as this country is concerned, and his theme not quite so sensational as he seems to expect. It is a long time since I have heard a sermon on Purity which did not begin with praise of man's creative power, and take as its point of departure the inviolable sancity of the debitum.

The author's second volume is of theoretic rather than applied interest. Subtitled "The Mystery of Sex and Marriage," it reviews the history of sex in the ancient pagan, Hebrew, and Christian world. It discusses at considerable length such theological questions as sex before the Fall, the influence on sex of Original Sin, sex and the Incarnation. It analyzes the biological and psychological origins of the sense of shame, the various meanings of the word "modesty," and the relativity of its meaning as we commonly use the word. It gives, in short, an excellent overall summary of the history and philosophy of sex from the Christian standpoint.

In the third volume Father Messenger returns to the more practical plane. He discusses the social and religious aspects of copulation; marriage; temperance in intercourse; family planning. But as I finish my job of "skimming through," and lay this third volume aside, I find myself with a puzzling question in my mind: just what class of readers did the author envision as he prepared this work?

★

TWO IN ONE FLESH evidently is not intended as a work of reference for scholars, since it makes no pretence of being a piece of original research. It is, rather, a synopsis and a digest of matter drawn from widely scattered sources. It is a good synopsis, a well-assimilated digest, but it contains nothing new nor startling. Neither would a work intended for experts' reference include, as do these volumes, many practical reflections and moralizations.

Probably the class of readers who will find *Two In One Flesh* most valuable will be seminarians in their study of the moral theology tract, *De Sexto,* and collegians in their courses on marriage and the family. For such groups, these three volumes would make helpful collateral reading.

But the work is not designed for popular consumption, in the ordinary sense of that phrase. Had it been so slanted, it would have omitted much of the speculative and historical matter, which make interesting reading, but do not contribute notably to the practical understanding of sex. Neither would the work have been published in three slim volumes totaling some four hundred pages. The per-set price of $7.50 will definitely keep it out of the purchasing range of all except the more prosperous couples.

Again, as a popular handbook it is deficient in really useful directions and instructions. Father Messenger shows here a reticence that belies the promise of his first volume. I have a little fifty-three page pamphlet, privately printed, and entitled *Happiness In Marriage,* which does a much better job in this respect than all three volumes of *Two In One Flesh.* In the respect, I mean, of giving unevasive yet reverent description of the sex organs and sex processes; of giving matter-of-fact instructions in the art of marital love-making and the act of coitus; of pointing the way to avoidance of frigidity and irritation in marriage, and the concomitant achievement of the fullest measure of rich happiness in this great sacrament.

The whole field is one in which Catholic authorities have too long been timid, from good but possibly mistaken motives. Father Messenger has done a lot of valuable spade-work. But gratitude for his able compendium cannot blind us to the fact that the ideal handbook of sex and marriage for Catholic couples has still to be written.

Books

Image and Idea. Philip Rahv. New Directions. $3.00.

IT OCCURS to me that there may be only two main types of literary critic—one oriented to prose, the other to poetry. Each type has its own special skill. If the second excels in close verbal analysis, the first is usually superior at picking out leading ideas and analyzing the structure of lengthy and complex works of literature.

Mr. Rahv is what one may call a pure example of the first type. Not one of the fourteen essays before me is concerned with poetry; even when he writes of William Carlos Williams, Mr. Rahv confines himself to that writer's short stories. If every critic is a disappointed author, it seems a safe bet that Mr. Rahv's desk drawer contains an unpublished novel rather than a sheaf of manuscript verses.

As a critic, he possesses the specific virtues of his type. The witty simplicity with which he divides all American writers into two groups—Palefaces and Redskins—is only the most striking example of a real gift for sane and striking generalization. "Consider," he writes, "the immense contrast between the drawing-room fictions of Henry James and the open-air poems of Walt Whitman." At once we grasp the paleface-redskin dichotomy and can use it fruitfully for ourselves. In "The Cult of Experience in American Writing" he goes on to show how the paleface shrinks from experience, while the redskin—almost equally misguided—wallows in it till he drowns. The typical American realist ends—or even begins—by allowing his material to master him. Incidentally, a simi-

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lar phenomenon is to be observed in much recent Irish writing.

By studying the heroines of Hawthorne and of Henry James, Mr. Rahv makes clear the differing attitudes to "experience" maintained by these two paleface writers. Hawthorne, he finds, equates beauty with evil in his dark, willful heroines. James's perennial heroine is the tempted, not the temptress, but eventually, in the later novels, she wins possession of the delights of Europe on her own very strait-laced terms.

Other major studies—of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky and Kafka—are admirable for their power of keeping all an author's work in perspective at once. The "Notes on the Decline of Naturalism" agree too closely with my own previously formulated views for me to be able to criticize them objectively. The five short "Sketches in Criticism" all contain food for thought—especially the attack on the cultural chauvinism of De Voto, Brooks *et al.* It may, however, reveal either Mr. Rahv's bias or my own when I say that I cannot see the point of condemning Virginia Woolf for writing novels that are too akin to lyric poetry.

There is just one disturbing fact about this very intellectual, very intelligent collection of essays, and that is what I may call their anonymity. I had already read several of them in *Partisan Review,* of which Mr. Rahv is an editor, but I had not remembered that he was the author of any of them, or indeed that any two of them were by the same author. I suppose this is in part the inevitable result of trying to make criticism a science instead of an art.

VIVIAN MERCIER

Turkey: An Economic Appraisal. Max Weston Thornburg, Graham Spry, George Soule. Twentieth Century Fund. $3.50.

TWO years before President Truman submitted to Congress "a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas," the Twentieth Century Fund, the well-known private research foundation, sent a team to Turkey in order to lay the groundwork for effective economic aid to Turkey.

Turkey—a country of 300,000 square miles and 20 million inhabitants—is the most eastern among the countries which we hope to protect from the danger of Soviet expansion. Turkey's geopolitical position across both the water route from Russia to the Mediterranean and the land route from Europe to Asia, makes her a country of utmost strategical importance. Yet the economic and political conditions in Turkey differ so widely from our ways of life that a comprehensive study of what we have to do, in order to serve both Turkey's and America's interests, is certainly worth while.

The Twentieth Century Fund has just published the findings of its research team in *Turkey. An Economic Appraisal.* The research director and chief author of this remarkable publication is Max Weston Thornburg, Vice-President of Standard Oil of California, in charge of its Middle and Far Eastern subsidiaries.

The viewpoint of the book is therefore to a considerable degree that of American business eager to pioneer in the industrial development of backward areas and to propagandize an effective US foreign economic policy that is favorable for private initiative. With this particular viewpoint always in mind, you will find the new book very stimulating. The publication pleads that government funds not be used in undertakings for which private capital is available. It asks furthermore that Turkey give business recognition under the law and protect it from arbitrary decisions of individual officers. The present "Etatism" of the Turkish government is said to hinder economic progress. Thornburg claims that this system is not produced by economic theories but only by the desire of the ruling bureaucracy to control the means of production as an instrument of power. Competent men are often removed if they do not serve the political interests of the "machine." The Twentieth Century team observed many cases where costly installations were made without the slightest economic justification.

The power of the governmental "machine" is due to the fact that the opposition party has only a shadowy existence and Turkey is practically a one-party state. Thornburg expects that the development of a real two-party system might weaken and perhaps even destroy the bureaucratic state collectivism and lead toward our type of democracy. Turkey's burdensome taxation system is criticized as another obstacle to effective aid from the outside.

★

ONCE the government has cleared the way, the primary requirement of Turkey would be skilled management to operate the essential plants. Many Turkish establishments have failed for lack of appropriate management. Turkish authorities have it within their power to establish conditions which may attract not foreign speculators but solid investors and trained managers. Assurances of orderly political, social and economic intentions and of orderly administrative procedure must be embodied in the law and there must be full access to just courts in the event of disputes. By proving that these conditions are missing, the researchers give a considerable insight into the weaknesses and deficiencies of the Turkish economy.

The report points out that four-fifths of Turkey's population makes its living off agriculture and about 60% of the people still cannot read or write. It is against this background, says Mr. Thornburg, that one must judge even the spectacular developments, such as steel mills and artificial silk mills, that have been built by the government. "The gulf between agriculture practiced much as it was by the Hittites and the isolated examples of 20th century industrial technique must be filled if the Turkish people are to make real progress. Here is where foreign aid, if applicable to the job, could most effectively be utilized; here also is where the Turks themselves could, under favorable conditions, contribute the most."

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Not with a single word does this book touch on the fact that by aiding Turkey we strengthen a non-Christian nation which, in past centuries, was one of the most cruel suppressors of Christian freedom and civilization. The question of whether or not the present secularization of Islam inside Turkey might prove a sufficient guarantee against a possible renewal of Turkish expansion, would perhaps not have been omitted if the interests of the researchers had transcended the economic field.

MAX FISCHER

A Treasury of Brooklyn. Edited by Mary Ellen and Mark Murphy and Ralph Foster Weld. Sloane. $5.00.

THIS collection will give pleasure to many people from Brooklyn and from beyond Brooklyn. To the old-timers the mere listing of names—Henry Street, Clinton Street, the Hook, Williamsburg—will be enough to start wonderful memories and prompt the re-telling of old stories.

The book ranges from descriptions of pre-revolutionary scenes to stories about the Dodgers and Murder, Inc. It has pages about some of Brooklyn's notorious people: Henry Ward Beecher, the preacher who was sued on an adultery charge; John H. McCooey who appointed his own son to the Supreme Court bench; Boss McLaughlin who grew rich during his political reign. There are fictional pieces by Irwin Shaw, Theodore Dreiser, Edmund Wilson, Thomas Wolfe and Betty Smith, some good excerpts from *Sodom by the Sea,* the story of Coney Island, by Jo Ranson and Oliver Pilat.

A brief autobiographical sketch by Joseph Mulvaney ('twould be one of those) seems to this Brooklyner most successful in giving an image of the place. And those words which give most pleasure in themselves (and, for all the oddities, most humor) are taken from Mayor William J. Gaynor's letters. To a clergyman who had complained that he had been insulted because of his beard, Gaynor wrote: "Yes, if they assault you, and throw cans at you, you have a right to defend yourself to the last extremity; but if you find it necessary I will have a detective go around with you for a few days until we arrest some of those who are wronging you. Are you certain that it is your beard which is the cause of the trouble?" He answered another clergyman this way:: "I do not think I should give you a license to preach for the conversion of Jews in the streets of the thickly settled Jewish neighborhoods which you designate. Would you not annoy them and do more harm than good? How many Jews have you converted so far?"

For all its goodness this book, contrary to the editors' beliefs and intentions, re-emphasizes the eccentricities of the Brooklyn habitants. It will convince the out-landers who have heard about the place more than it will the locals. Probably the book which will most effectively and honestly re-create the Brooklyn scene will be a work of fiction, not a collection, a work of fiction with a title *Brooklyners,* or *Odysseus.*

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Portuguese Pilgrimage. C. C. Martindale. Sheed. $2.75.

LANDSCAPE, monuments, Portuguese history, the geniality and piety of the people—the author here seems to be enthusiastic about it all—and enthusiasm is catching. So we have 165 pages of rather delightful reading.

As a pilgrim, Martindale condenses and appraises, with sensible and sympathetic criticism, the Portuguese literature about Fatima—fact and exegesis.

Social conditions in the country are rather skipped by the friendly tourist-pilgrim. Leave that to the care of Social Encyclicals, invoked, even with *family wages,* in the Corporate State Constitution. Says Martindale, "Wages are, I believe, pretty low. . . ." He hastens to add: "but how notably servants are part of the family!"

Some sociologists will wonder maybe: Are *servants* a country's workers? Even some harder critics, like Saint Thomas More, would go further and classify servants with social parasites, just like the lords they help to shine. But More is the man of Utopia!

Anyhow, by removing himself from the workers, the pilgrim voids of realism such splendid pictures as that he gives of the "Matrona," the alleged Portuguese woman, nothing but a housewife, who leaves all outside work to the men. Alas! How could the average Portuguese wife refrain from laboring outside the home, sometimes even harder than her husband, when the average wages paid to a laborer are hardly enough to meet rudimentary individual needs? (With one thing I wish to sympathize: and that is Father Martindale's regret — expressed on page 75—that he could not talk at ease with quiet working people.)

Portuguese Pilgrimage teems with splendid digressions through Portuguese history. To expect nothing but strict and unbiased accuracy would be asking too much from a tourist-pilgrim writer. Father Martindale does not seem to know of Portuguese missionaries before the advent of the Jesuits. Yet, 42 years before Saint Francis Xavier's arrival in India, the Portuguese Franciscans had established over one hundred missions and were working, in church and school, from Goa and Bardez to Ceylon. There were missions, too, with Carmelites, secular priests, even bishops from Cape Verde and Guinea to Congo, coast and hinterland. A little more than "chaplains" of sailing boats. (Page 57.)

Father Martindale is rightly severe on Pombal, eighteenth century Minister of State and chief butcher of Jesuits, but he minimizes the tremendous work accomplished by King Joseph's powerful minister as a reformer as well as a rebuilder. I reckon it was not Pombal's despotism that repelled his critic, for Father Martindale seems not to scorn some despots. He exalts those who, having failed at sundry *coups-d'etat* finally succeeded in the last one (1926), made military rule definitive and started denouncing the Constitutional Republic for having been a sequence of *coups-d'etat!* He admires King Miguel, who plotted against the 1822 Constitution until he was able to suppress it and who established terror and the gallows as the conduct of decent government. He surely holds high the memory of Lord Gen-

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eral Beresford and his British gang of hangmen who kept the Portuguese under terror in the name of a straw Portuguese crown up to 1920, for he admonishes the Constitutionals for their 1920 revolt which sent the English Lords back to their Island, and decides that exemption from arbitrary rule is foreign stuff, no good for Portuguese. Contrary to Byron, who insulted Beresford's submissive slaves but applauded when they suddenly woke up and kicked out foreign tyrants, Martindale likes menial Portuguese, good servants, nice cooks.

Another token of his British paternalism: he rejoices about the lesson given by Edward VII to the youthful Portuguese Republic which was contemplating the expulsion of some Irish Friars. A slight inattention to dates: the Republic was born October 5, 1910; Edward VII died May 6 of the same fateful year.

A similar distraction that will do harm to nobody is the ornamental S.J. appended to the name of Padre America, the father of Portuguese Boys Towns.

J. A. CORREIA

Degas Letters. Edited by Marcel Guerin. Studio Publications. $3.00.
Degas. Daniel Wildenstein. Wildenstein. $1.00.
Degas et Son Oeurvre. P. A. Lemoisne. Distributed by Robert M. Leylan. $40.00.

THOUGH the ballet-girls of Degas often suggest gossamer creatures compounded out of sunlight, a darker strain of the painter's nature still remains to be explored. He attained those airy summits not at a single fling of rapture but at a cost he only too painfully hid. He actually suppressed certain elements in his personality in order more surely to follow the path that was his. And he ached often because of those excisions.

Yet so successfully did he assume the mask of an icy reserve, so unremittently sharpen his tongue and so generally behave like one in utter command of himself, that few suspected the shadows underlying his accomplishment. These shadows, however, may now be more distinctly detected because of three developments that happily coincide—the translation of the painter's letters into English, a recent show of his work in New York at Wildenstein's, and the release of the initial volumes in his monumental *catalogue raisonnée*.

Turning first to the letters, one can, by reading between the lines, construct the graph of a life-expectancy running counter to the artist's triumph in his work. After a letter dated from Paris in 1871, he departs a year later, then aged 38, for a visit to his brother in New Orleans. "I am thirsting," he confides, "for order. . . . I do not even regard a good woman as the enemy of this new method of existence. . . . A few children for me of my own, is that excessive, too?"

For several months these letters continue, while he describes magnolia trees, columned mansions, southern mammies, and funneled steamboats standing up at the end of a street. Nothing is said about the big canvas he must even then have been planning on the cotton market —perhaps because he was still recovering from an eye-

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ailment. Later, returning to Paris, he affiliates himself with the Impressionists and eventually discusses the shows he helped them hang. Other letters record quarrels with patrons, tiffs with a landlord, or mere dinner-invitations.

More essentially, certain communications open the door an inch or two upon his personal dilemma. At fifty, for instance, he confesses that he had "lost the thread of things." And a dozen years later, barely on the threshold of the sixties, he describes himself and Bartholemé, sculptor of the Statue of Liberty, as a pair of old men setting out for a trip through Burgundy. Still further does his personal life dwindle until it fills his writing, by the middle of that decade, with the plaints and quavers of a prematurely aged man. At last, then, one sees the real figure behind the splendid front—shriveled somewhat despite his pride, and altogether pitiful as he withers into his final decrepitude.

Yet what a contrast in the work as exhibited at Wildenstein's! Starting as a portraitist, all too indebted to Ingress and his severities of line, he intelligently observes the quickened life after the Franco-Prussian War, works its nervous rhythms into his composition, and then impelled still farther by his insistent drive towards realism, depicts the very life of the stage, of the weary ballet-girls, of the concert-masters. Gradually, too, he supplants oils with pastels that medium at which he is still unsurpassed. Then the light spangled the dresses of the dancers, Paris silver shone upon the tub of a bather, milliners held up their hats like so many gems—and the unmistakable face of a time had been recorded. Becoming still more eloquent, by the mid-80's, Degas was ordering arms in a file at the theater, or setting off each foot in a marching parade at the Opéras, as if hewing out a frieze upon the Parthenon.

But there remained the cost. And that cost must indicate that Degas, far from being a misanthrope, recluse, or hardened old eccentric, was one of the heroes of his epoch and a standing image of the life irrevocably committed to art.

JEROME MELLQUIST

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